

Sharing the Holy Land: Islamic Pilgrimage to Christian Holy Sites in Jerusalem during the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods

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Abstract

The Holy Land was the destination for many Muslim pilgrims during the late medieval and early modern period. In addition to worshipping in Jerusalem's Haram al-Sharif, Muslim pilgrims in the Holy Land also visited important Christian holy sites, such as the Mount of Olives, the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, the Church of the Ascension, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. With a genre of medieval Islamic pilgrimage texts known as *Fada'il al-Quds* (Merits of Jerusalem) serving as their guide, Muslims visited these places and joined Christian worshippers in contemplating the sacred. *Fada'il al-Quds* texts informed Muslim pilgrims of the blessings (*fada'il*) of Christian holy sites by citing Islamic traditions, such as Qur'anic verses, hadith literature, and Companions' sayings (*athar*), to sanctify each Christian site and to command Muslims to perform certain Islamic prayers and rituals there. Despite the debate on the legality of Muslim pilgrimage to churches and protestations against the practice by some conservative '*ulama*', the *Fada'il al-Quds* corpus, along with travelogue literature, reveals that Muslims increasingly visited churches, shared sacred spaces, and even participated in Christian ceremonies into the Ottoman period. Using *Fada'il al-Quds* and travelogue literature from the medieval and early modern period, this study¹ demonstrates that Muslims in the Holy Land shared sacred spaces with Christians in Jerusalem for centuries before the onset of the modern era.

Keywords

Jerusalem; Holy Land; Islamic Jerusalem; Crusades; Islamic pilgrimage; Fada'il al-Quds; Arabic travelogue literature; shared sacred spaces.

The Holy Land was the destination of many Muslim pilgrims and travelers during the late medieval and early modern period.² Seeking the blessings of Bayt al-Maqdis, many '*ulama*' (religious scholars), Sufi mystics, and everyday pilgrims visited Jerusalem and contemplated the sacred at its many Muslim holy sites. During their pilgrimage itinerary, Muslims visited the Haram al-Sharif compound, the Muslim epicenter in Jerusalem, and its plethora of holy places there, including many important spots in the Dome of the Rock, al-Aqsa Mosque, and other sites located on the sacred esplanade (see figure 1). Intriguingly, while visiting the Holy Land, medieval Muslim pilgrims also visited Christian holy places, such as the Mount of Olives, the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and Bethlehem's Church of the Nativity, where they sometimes performed Islamic rituals and contemplated the sacredness of figures holy in both Islam and Christianity.

During these medieval pilgrimage tours of Jerusalem, Muslims visiting the city's sacred confines were directed by the *Fada'il al-Quds* texts, the pilgrimage guides composed to lead Muslims around the Bayt al-Maqdis's labyrinth of holy sites. These *Fada'il al-Quds* works also instructed medieval Muslim pilgrims regarding the sanctification rituals associated with each spot, including Christian churches and sacred spaces.³ Indeed, many of the traditions in the corpus inform Muslims of the blessings (*fada'il*, sing. *fadila*) of certain Christian places in the Holy Land. The *Fada'il al-Quds* traditions extol these Christian sites by citing Qur'anic verses, hadith literature, the sayings of early generations of Muslims (*athar*), eschatological traditions, and biblical narratives connected to them.

On the other hand, some traditions in the *Fada'il al-Quds* genre went against the sanctification of churches. They forbade Muslims from visiting these non-Islamic places. Some traditions, for example, warned against the multiplication of sins in churches, while other precepts, authored mainly by Sunni Hanbali scholars, forbade Muslims from visiting Christian sacred spots altogether. Yet interestingly, late-medieval *Fada'il al-Quds* texts also began to debate whether Muslims should enter churches in Jerusalem. For example, Sunni Shafi'i authors writing in the post-Crusades Mamluk period (1250–1517/648–923 AH) addressed the legality of a Muslim's visit and prayer in a church, and the conditions needed to render such an action permissible. They opined on and judged the practice, with some Shafi'i authors, as this study will reveal, permitting the practice as long as certain conditions were met and satisfied.



Figure 1. Yusuf al-Natsheh, “Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary),” in *Discover Islamic Art*, Museum with No Frontiers, 2023; online at islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=monument;IS-L;pa;Mon01;1;en (accessed 21 September 2023).

The Fada'il al-Quds corpus thus reveals a rich reservoir of traditions both sanctifying and downplaying Christian sites in the Holy Land. It points to a complex religiohistorical phenomenon of Muslims and Christians sharing sacred spaces in Jerusalem and Palestine,⁴ a practice that was also evident in Greater Syria and the wider Mediterranean during the pre-modern period.⁵ Therefore, a close examination of the Fada'il al-Quds literature discloses and delineates the Christian sacred sites visited by medieval Muslim pilgrims in the holy city and the sanctification and incorporation of these sites within the Islamic landscape. After providing a short overview of the Fada'il al-Quds literature, this essay explores which Christian holy sites were extolled and visited by Muslims according to these texts; how these Christian holy sites were incorporated into the medieval Islamic heritage; and what rituals Muslims performed there. Finally, it analyzes how the debate on whether Muslims were allowed to visit and enter churches changed across time and according to Sunni *madhhab* (a school of Islamic jurisprudence), comparing texts composed before the Crusades with those written during and after the Crusades, up to and including the early modern Ottoman period. The study will thus demonstrate how, paradoxically, as a result of authors

incorporating the debate on the legality of entering churches into the Fada'il al-Quds, Muslims increasingly began to visit churches and even participate in Christian ceremonies for centuries before the onset of the modern period.

Fada'il al-Quds: A Brief Description and Historical Survey

Fada'il al-Quds, or "Merits of Jerusalem," are a corpus of religiohistorical texts composed during the medieval and early modern period to extol the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam. These texts include Islamic traditions from the Qur'an, hadith, *athar*, and End of Days eschatology, together with biblical material, such as narratives of the biblical prophets (*qisas al-anbiya'*) and ancient Israelite accounts (*isra'iliyyat*), that describe the city, its central religious role in the monotheistic faiths, and its ancient past.⁶ They also include reports from chroniclers and geographers on the history of Jerusalem under early Muslim rule and, in some late-medieval works dating from the Mamluk period, the history of the city during the Crusades.

The main purpose of Fada'il al-Quds texts is to inform the reader of the religious merits of the city in the Islamic tradition. Naturally, accounts of the Prophet's nocturnal journey to Jerusalem (*al-isra'*) and his ascension to the Heavens from the city (*al-mi'raj*) feature prominently.⁷ Fada'il al-Quds works also offer historical reports on the history of Jerusalem's conquest by the second caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, and the building of the Dome of the Rock by the seventh century Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (r. 685–705/65–86 AH), thus serving as an important source for the early history of medieval Islamic Jerusalem.⁸ The corpus also stresses the city's role in the End of Days⁹ and, importantly, the more quotidian aspects of Jerusalem's sacredness, such as the spiritual reward of visiting, praying, fasting, living, and dying in Jerusalem.¹⁰

Although Fada'il texts on cities such as Mecca and Medina were composed early in Islamic history, the collection and writing of complete Fada'il works on Jerusalem appeared relatively later.¹¹ While individual Fada'il traditions on Jerusalem circulated as early as the late seventh to early eighth century CE (late first to early second century AH), the first collection only appeared during the ninth century (third century AH).¹² Indeed, the earliest Fada'il al-Quds text is attributed to al-Walid ibn Hammad al-Ramli (d. ca. 912/300 AH), although there are no surviving manuscripts of this work.¹³ However, two major Fada'il al-Quds treatises were produced in the eleventh century by scholars from Jerusalem: *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* (The merits of Jerusalem), composed not later than 1019–1020 (410 AH) by Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Wasiti, and shortly later *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalil wa fada'il al-Sham* (The merits of Jerusalem and Hebron and the merits of Greater Syria) by Abu al-Ma'ali al-Musharraf Ibn al-Murajja al-Maqdisi (d. after 1047/438 AH).¹⁴ Both were composed only decades before the first Crusade, but continued to serve as the main sources for later Fada'il al-Quds tracts composed after the Frank's Crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 CE (492 AH) and during the Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman periods.¹⁵

Fada'il al-Quds treatises composed during the Ayyubid period (1171–1250/567–648 AH) were primarily circulated to renew the sanctity of Jerusalem in the Islamic

consciousness in service of recapturing or holding onto the city during waves of Crusader attacks.¹⁶ The major works on the merits of Jerusalem composed during this period are *al-Mustaqsa fi ziyarat al-Masjid al-Aqsa* (The comprehensive survey into pilgrimage to Jerusalem) by the Damascene scholar Shafi'i al-Qasim Baha' al-Din Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn 'Asakir (d. 1203/600 AH), the son of the illustrious Damascene historian Thiqat al-Din Abu al-Qasim 'Ali ibn 'Asakir (d. 1176/571 AH); *Fada'il al-Quds* by the renowned Hanbali Baghdadi Abu al-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Ali ibn al-Jawzi (1116–1201/510–597 AH); and *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis* by the esteemed Damascene Hanbali Diya' al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahid al-Maqdisi (d.1245/643 AH).¹⁷

The Fada'il al-Quds genre flourished during the Mamluk period (1250–1517/648–923 AH). By the time the Crusades ended and Mamluk rule over Palestine stabilized in the fourteenth century (eighth century AH), the city experienced long periods of peace, which naturally helped increase the number of Muslim pilgrims to the region.¹⁸ As a result, Fada'il al-Quds literature peaked during this period, with tens of different texts produced by both Jerusalemite and non-Jerusalemite authors.¹⁹ Indeed, the Mamluk period produced some of the most important Fada'il al-Quds texts, including *al-Uns al-jalil bi-ta'rikh al-Quds wa-al-Khalil* (The sublime companion to the history of Jerusalem and Hebron), the major Fada'il -cum-chronicle on Islamic Jerusalem by the city's chief Hanbali judge Abu al-Yumn Mujir al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad al-'Ulaymi (d. 1522/928 AH), and *Ithaf al-akhissa bi-fada'il al-Masjid al-Aqsa* (The gifting of friends with the merits of Jerusalem) by the Egyptian Shafi'i scholar Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Shihab al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 880/475 AH).²⁰ The rise of non-Jerusalemite authors, in particular, reflects the increasing number of pilgrims and other Muslim travelers visiting the city during the Mamluk period.²¹ By the sixteenth century (tenth century AH), however, and with the beginning of the Ottoman period, the Fada'il al-Quds literature on Jerusalem began to decline.²²

Jerusalem's Christian Holy Sites in Fada'il al-Quds

The first important Christian holy site cited in the Fada'il al-Quds texts is the Mount of Olives (*Tur Zayta*).²³ The Fada'il literature includes several traditions relating to the importance of the Mount of Olives and its connection to Christian narratives. For example, authors mention that the Mount of Olives is the location from which God raised Jesus to the Heavens (in keeping with the alternative Islamic narrative on Jesus's crucifixion, in which God raised him to the Heavens to prevent his death on the cross).²⁴ Indeed, one of the holy sites located on the Mount of Olives that is cited in the Fada'il literature and sanctified by the traditions is the Church of the Ascension (see figure 2). Referred to as *kanisat al-Tur* in the genre, the Church of the Ascension is identified by some Fada'il authors as the location where Jesus was raised to the Heavens.²⁵ This Christian holy spot also became a destination for Muslim pilgrimage after Salah al-Din's conquest of the city, where "pilgrims of both religions prayed in different locations at the site."²⁶

The Fada'il literature also links the Mount of Olives to the location of al-Sahira, a site in Islamic tradition connected with the eschatological events of the End of Days.²⁷ Authors cite Qur'anic verse 79:14 that mentions al-Sahira and proceed to describe its location and its role during Judgment Day.²⁸ According to the Fada'il traditions, al-Sahira is the valley at the foot of the Mount of Olives (Kidron Valley, Wadi al-Jawz, or the Valley of Jehoshaphat), where souls will translocate before being admitted to Heaven or to Hell.²⁹ Fada'il texts direct Muslims to visit al-Sahira and perform the supplication (*du'a*) that, according to the Islamic tradition, Jesus had recited before he was lifted to the Heavens.³⁰



Figure 2. Yusuf al-Natsheh, "Qubbat al-Su'ud (Dome of Ascension)," in *Discover Islamic Art*, Museum with No Frontiers, 2023; online at islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=monument;IS-L;pa;Mon01;5;en (accessed 21 September 2023).

The Tomb of the Virgin Mary is also cited in several different Fada'il al-Quds traditions (see figure 3).³¹ One tradition found in almost all texts is connected with Prophet Muhammad's Nocturnal Journey to Jerusalem – *al-isra'*.³² As part of the *isra'* narrative, the Fada'il texts describe hadiths that detail the Prophet's journey on

the mythical creature al-Buraq along with the Archangel Gabriel. During the flight, Muhammad spots two shining lights, one to his right and the other to his left. Gabriel informs Muhammad that “on your right hand side is Mihrab Dawud and on your left-hand side is the tomb of your sister Mary [mother of Jesus].”³³ As Dionigi Albera explains, there is evidence revealing that the Tomb of the Virgin Mary was in fact frequented by Muslims, where they shared sacred spaces with Christians at the sepulcher.³⁴



Figure 3. Yusuf al-Natsheh, “Church of the Tomb of Mary,” in *Discover Islamic Art*, Museum with No Frontiers, 2023; online at islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=monument;IS-L;pa;Mon01;24;en (accessed 21 September 2023).

The Mount of Olives is also, according to Mujir al-Din, the location of the presumed tomb of Rabi‘a al-‘Adawiyya, the early female mystic who some Muslims in Jerusalem believe is buried atop the mountain “next to the place where Lord Jesus Peace Be Upon Him was raised to the Heavens [that is, the Church of the Ascension]” (*bijiwar mas‘ad al-sayyid ‘Isa ‘alayhi al-salam*).³⁵ Mujir al-Din also writes that her tomb lies below a set of stairs, and, importantly, it is frequented by many.³⁶ Building on Benjamin Z. Kedar’s research and applying his typology of shared sacred spaces, Ora Limor describes how this holy site was a shared sacred space among adherents to all three monotheistic religions who undertook pilgrimage to this central holy site on the Mount of Olives. Christians, Limor reveals, visited the tomb since it is believed within their tradition that it is the burial place of Saint Pelagia of Antioch, while Jews

during the fourteenth century began to claim that the same burial site belongs to the prophetess Huldah who dates back to the reign of King Josiah.³⁷

In the same traditions on the Prophet's *isra'* journey to Jerusalem, Muhammad describes how he and the Archangel Gabriel flew over Bethlehem when, "Gabriel told me: 'This is the birthplace of your brother Jesus so dismount [from al-Buraq] and pray there.'" ³⁸ It is interesting to note here that whereas traditions praising the burial place of Mary are cited without noting the specific location of her tomb, here the city of Bethlehem is mentioned by name as the birthplace of Jesus. Moreover, in *al-Uns al-jalil*, Mujir al-Din goes one step further and specifically cites the location as the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (see figure 4).³⁹ Indeed, in a unique discussion on Byzantine history, Mujir al-Din describes the religious building program undertaken by Emperor Constantine's mother Helen in Jerusalem.⁴⁰ He lists several churches that she had erected in the Holy Land, such as the Church of the Nativity, the Church of the Ascension, the Tomb of the Virgin Mary (here referred to as *al-kanisa al-Jismaniyya*, since the tomb is located in the Church of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat at the lower end of Gethsemane), and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁴¹



Figure 4a. Yusuf al-Natsheh, "Church of the Nativity," in *Discover Islamic Art*, Museum with No Frontiers, 2023: online at islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=monument;ISL;pa;Mon01;23;en (accessed 21 September 2023).

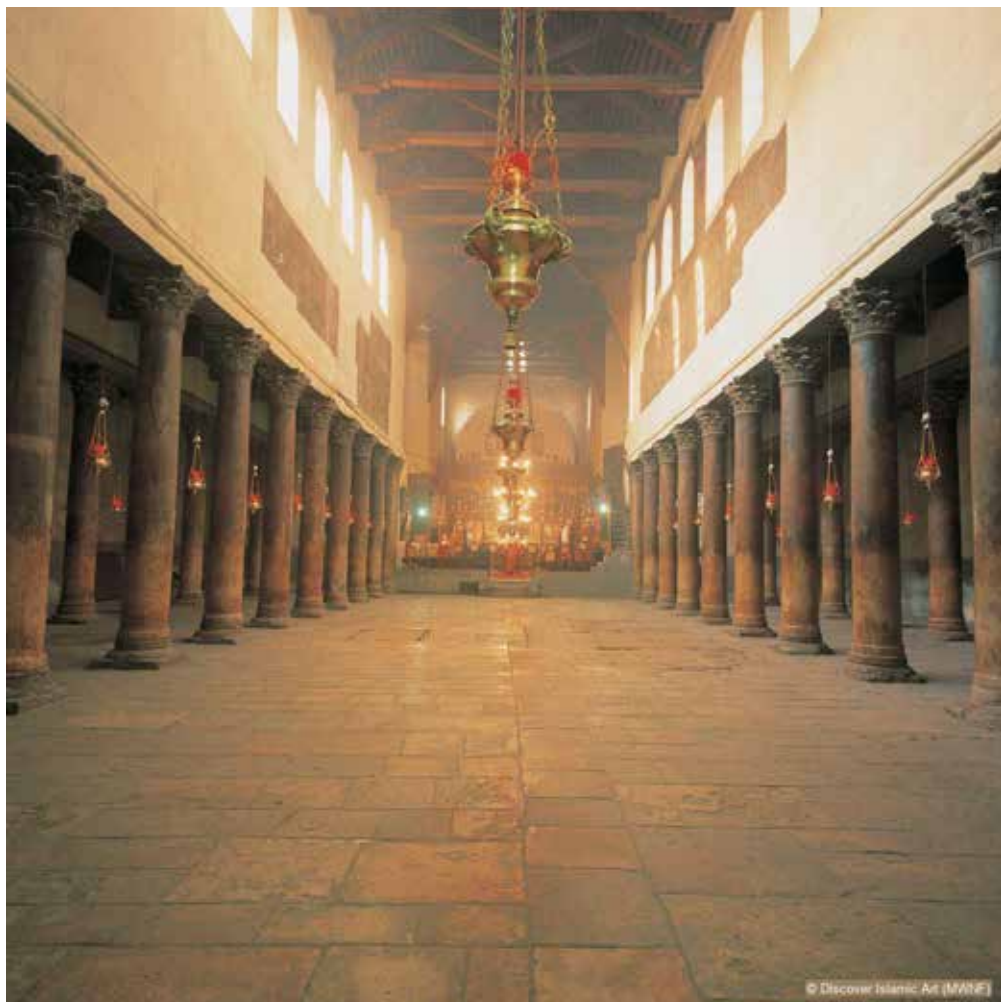


Figure 4b. Yusuf al-Natsheh, “Church of the Nativity,” in *Discover Islamic Art*, Museum with No Frontiers, 2023.

In addition to Bethlehem, the Fada’il al-Quds texts cite traditions on a few other locations special to Christianity. One such place is the Jordan River. According to Ibn al-Murajja, the Jordan River is sanctified in Islam since it is the location where John the Baptist (*Yahya*) had moved for quiet contemplation of his fate.⁴² In *al-Uns al-jalil*, Mujir al-Din specifically links the Jordan River to John’s baptism of Jesus.⁴³ Mujir al-Din also includes Nazareth within his description of sacred sites in the Holy Land, citing Nazareth as the place to which the infant Jesus and his mother Mary returned to after escaping Herod’s persecution in the Holy Land.⁴⁴

Mujir al-Din also refers, albeit indirectly, to the location of the Last Supper. In his discussion of the Tomb of David, Mujir al-Din explains that David was buried at the Church of Saint Mary of Mount Sion (*kanisat Sahyun*),⁴⁵ which was captured and

controlled by the Franks until the Muslims expelled them (see figure 5).⁴⁶ Now, he adds, this location “is in the hands of the Muslims, and there is in it *kanisat Sahyun*, a place that the Christians extol.”⁴⁷ It is well known that the second floor above the Tomb of David is the location of the Cenacle, the medieval chamber where Christians believe the Last Supper took place.⁴⁸ Therefore, it can be deduced here that Mujir al-Din is referring to the site of the Last Supper.



Figure 5. Entrance to the Tomb of David located in the Church of Mount Sion (Jabal Sahyun). Yusuf al-Natsheh, “Maqam (Sanctuary) of the Prophet David,” in *Discover Islamic Art*, Museum with No Frontiers, 2023; online at islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=monument;is-l;pa;mon01;35;en (accessed 21 September 2023).

There are several other holy sites in the Islamic tradition that, though not necessarily sacred in Christianity, receive their religious importance due to their association with Christian figures. For example, Fada’il al-Quds traditions extol the sacredness of what is referred to as *Mihrab Maryam* or *Mahd ‘Isa*.⁴⁹ This site is located at the southeastern corner below the *Haram al-Sharif* complex and, according to the Islamic narrative, it is the site where Mary stayed during her pregnancy with Jesus, receiving sustenance from God.⁵⁰ Another account characterizes it as the location where the Annunciation to Mary took place.⁵¹ According to the *Fada’il* texts, a Muslim should stop by *Mihrab Maryam/Mahd ‘Isa* and should pray there and recite the Qur’anic chapter of Mary

(*surat Maryam*). Specifically, texts implore Muslims to recite the supplication of Jesus when, according to Islamic tradition, God raised him to the Heavens. As Ibn al-Murajja writes, for example:

Then [the Muslim visitor] should proceed toward Mihrab Maryam ... which is known as Mahd ‘Isa ... and to intensify his supplication, for supplications here are well-received, and pray there and read *surat Maryam* ... and prostrate as ‘Umar [ibn al-Khattab] did at Mihrab Dawud ... and the best supplication is that of Jesus – peace be upon him – that he recited when God raised Jesus to Him from the Mount of Olives, and [the Muslim pilgrim should] repent and thank God for his visit to this blessed place. If one does this, his sins would be remitted as on the day when his mother gave birth to him.⁵²

In addition to Mihrab Maryam/Mahd ‘Isa, Fada’il texts encourage Muslim visitors to Jerusalem to stop by Mihrab Zakariyya, a sacred Islamic site located in the Haram complex.⁵³ Named after the father of John the Baptist, this space is described in the Fada’il literature as a place where Mary had stayed while Zakariyya provided for her during her pregnancy with Jesus.⁵⁴ Traditions here guide Muslims to pray there and “ask from God the reward of Heaven.”⁵⁵

The Spring of Siloam (‘Ayn Silwan) is also connected to Mary’s pregnancy with Jesus in the Fada’il al-Quds literature.⁵⁶ The Spring of Siloam is generally considered a blessed site in Islamic tradition and is part of the itinerary of each Muslim pilgrim visiting Jerusalem, for it is connected to the Well of Zamzam in Mecca and is believed to be one of the springs of Paradise.⁵⁷ The Spring of Siloam is also linked with the episode when, according to Islamic tradition, Mary came to the spring to hide her pregnancy; Mary drank from its blessed waters and, as a result, her pregnancy was kept secret.⁵⁸

Although Mary is extolled repeatedly in Fada’il al-Quds texts, some traditions within the corpus provide cautionary precepts on holy sites associated with her. On the one hand, for example, we have seen that Mary’s burial site (*qabr Maryam*), or the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, located, as previously mentioned, in the Church of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is given special place within the Islamic tradition.⁵⁹ The Tomb of the Virgin Mary is sanctified in almost all the Fada’il texts since, as explained earlier, it appeared to Muhammad during his *isra’* journey to Jerusalem.⁶⁰

On the other hand, the Fada’il texts also provide somewhat contradictory traditions on this holy place: although the Tomb of the Virgin Mary is considered sacred in these texts, authors warn Muslims against visiting the church that houses it – referred to as *kanisat Maryam* (the Church of Mary) or sometimes *al-kanisa al-Jismaniyya* (the Church of Gethsemane). As previously explained, the term *al-kanisa al-Jismaniyya* is connected with the location of Mary’s tomb and the church housing it. Indeed, Denys Pringle reveals that the so-called *al-kanisa al-Jismaniyya* is the Church of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which is the lower church in Gethsemane.⁶¹ Ka‘b al-Ahbar, a seventh century (first century AH) Jewish convert to Islam and one of the

main sources for the biblical legends in the Fada'il al-Quds, is cited in this regard: "Ka'b said: Do not visit *kanisat Maryam* [meaning the Church of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat] ... [for Christians] never built a church unless it was in the Valley of Hell [*Jahannam*]." ⁶² Other traditions claim that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab paid a visit to *kanisat Maryam* and prayed there, only to regret his visit once it was revealed to him that this specific church was in the Valley of Hell. ⁶³

Similarly, while the Fada'il al-Quds includes traditions that sanctify the Mount of Olives and compels Muslims to visit it, there are also interpretations among Fada'il al-Quds authors that claim that the Mount of Olives and/or the valley situated at the foot of it, where the Tomb of the Virgin Mary lies, is also the location of al-Sahira. As previously detailed, the place al-Sahira is cited in Qur'anic verse 79:14. ⁶⁴ It has been connected with, in the analysis of some medieval scholars, the End of Days, such as the "spot where all souls shall gather on the Day of Judgment" (*ard al-mahshar wal-manshar*), ⁶⁵ and, in some interpretations, the location of Hell (*jahannam*) itself. ⁶⁶

One could argue, therefore, that the main reason why this tradition is exhorting Muslims not to visit the Church of Saint Mary is religiogeographical – or, simply, a question of eschatology. It could be postulated here that Muslims are being admonished from visiting the church because it is located in what the Islamic tradition considers as the Valley of Hell. What if this church was *not* located in such an "unblessed" site? Would it still be inadmissible for Muslims to visit it? Is the area considered the Valley of Hell *because* this church is located there? Or did it happen that the church simply exists in the larger area of the Valley of Hell, and so it is recommended for Muslims not to visit this place and the sites located there, such as the Church of Saint Mary? In other words, if this tradition exhorted Muslims not to visit the Church of Saint Mary because of its location in the Valley of Hell, what about churches in less inauspicious locations?

Can a Muslim Enter a Church in Jerusalem?

In fact, the issue of whether Muslims could visit this or any other church is touched upon in the two earliest extant Fada'il al-Quds texts prior to the Crusades. In the eleventh century (fifth century AH) texts of al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja, the authors added to the end of the tradition extolling the sanctity of Mihrab Dawud and the Spring of Siloam an enjoinder against entering churches: "And do not enter the churches nor buy there what is being sold, for one sin [in a church] is equal to one thousand sins, and a good deed [*hasana*] is equal to one thousand good deeds!" ⁶⁷

On the surface, the directive seems to discourage Muslims from visiting all churches. However, it is important to note that while sins, according to the tradition, multiply, *so do good deeds*. The concept of multiplication of good deeds and sins is associated with Jerusalem's Islamic holy sites more generally, which are, naturally, sanctified and visited by Muslims in the city. ⁶⁸ Additionally, this concept can even be found in Fada'il traditions on Mecca and its al-Masjid al-Haram sanctuary housing the Ka'ba. ⁶⁹ In other words, a church may also be seen as a holy site for Muslims where,

as is the case with other Islamic holy spots in Jerusalem – and in Mecca – both sins and good deeds committed within its confines are multiplied. Therefore, the fact that a church, or an area housing a church, has the power to exaggerate the consequences of actions committed therein should not necessarily mean that Muslims should be prohibited from entering it. If anything, it may mean that one should be more careful and attentive to his/her behavior within the confines of this place – as a sacred place.

Yet these traditions that seemingly discourage Muslims from visiting churches took a significant turn in Fada'il al-Quds texts composed in the period after the Crusades. During the Mamluk period, authors adopted novel and original approaches to debates around the permissibility for Muslims of entering a church in Jerusalem. Suleiman Mourad has argued that the Crusades had a significant impact on the content and form of the Fada'il al-Quds literature.⁷⁰ According to Mourad, texts composed during the Crusades, particularly during the Ayyubid period and after, adopted a more Islamicized view of Jerusalem, emphasizing, for example, citations of Jerusalem in the Qur'an and hadith, and began to “dissociate Jerusalem gradually from its non-Islamic heritage,” and emphasize “the exclusive Islamic dimension” of the city.⁷¹ This, Mourad finds, was accomplished partly through contributions to the genre by major Ayyubid scholars of hadith, including al-Qasim Ibn 'Asakir and Diya' al-Din al-Maqdisi, whereas during the pre-Crusades period, Fada'il al-Quds were composed by “average scholars,” such as al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja.⁷² Further, texts composed during the period when Jerusalem was ruled by the Franks in the twelfth century (sixth century AH) were produced for the “purpose of preaching and propaganda ... for public impulse for the liberation and protection of Jerusalem.”⁷³

With the fall of Acre in 1291 (690 AH) and the expulsion of the last Crusader post on the Syrian coast, Mamluk rule over Jerusalem stabilized the city and consolidated its Islamic character through intensive religious building programs.⁷⁴ With the seeming end to the European threat and the return of political continuity, pilgrimage to Jerusalem also increased.⁷⁵ One manifestation of this increased pilgrimage activity is the significant proliferation of Fada'il al-Quds texts composed during this period. As a result, emphasis on the Islamic dimension of Jerusalem continued during the Mamluk period, and therefore Fada'il al-Quds texts from the period also exhibited an increasingly Islamic form.⁷⁶

Mourad reveals that, as a result of the impact of the Crusades on the genre, two major trends on the sanctity of Jerusalem emerged in the corpus. On the one hand, Shafi'i circles inherited Fada'il al-Quds texts that continued to include biblical traditions on the city, such as the work of the Shafi'i al-Qasim Ibn 'Asakir, “not only as necessary but as foundational for a proper understanding of the sacredness of Jerusalem in Islam.”⁷⁷ On the other hand, Hanbali circles, including, Mourad points out, the major renowned Hanbali scholar Taqi al-Din Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Halim ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328/661–728 AH), inherited the text of Diya' al-Din al-Maqdisi which only emphasized Islamic traditions on the city, where the biblical material was sidelined and replaced with traditions strictly associating the sanctity of the city with the life events of the Prophet, the Qur'an, and the Apocalypse.⁷⁸

This *madhhab*-based bifurcation in post-Crusades authors' approaches to the composition of Fada'il al-Quds texts is evident in the debate over whether Muslims should enter churches, a question which, during the Mamluk period, drew increasingly on religious authorities and sources. For example, in his *Ithaf al-akhissa*, the Shafi'i Shams al-Din al-Suyuti includes the tradition that discourages Muslims from visiting the Church of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which houses the Tomb of the Virgin Mary. However, immediately after, al-Suyuti introduces the reader to the opinions of Islamic scholars on whether Muslims are generally allowed to enter churches. Such a discussion was an innovation of al-Suyuti's work and does not appear in any pre-Crusades Fada'il al-Quds texts. Al-Suyuti first cites *Kitab al-badi' fi tafdil al-Islam* (The sublime book on the superiority of Islam) of Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr al-Maqdisi, which states that Muslims are forbidden to enter the Church of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat (referred to here as *al-kanisa al-Jismaniyya* based, as explained earlier, on its location near Gethsemane), which houses the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, "except with the [Christians'] permission since they hate that [Muslims] enter it" (my emphasis). He also cites an opinion that instead limits Muslims' visits to those churches that lack portraits or images (*tasawir*).⁷⁹ Al-Suyuti continues to delineate the views of other important 'ulama' on this issue, indicating that some prominent earlier figures such as Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, a companion of the Prophet, had prayed in churches.⁸⁰

Al-Suyuti finally settles the debate by citing the Shafi'i scholar Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn al-'Imad al-Aqfahsi (before 1349–1405/750–808 AH) and his *Tashil al-maqasid li-zuwwar al-masajid* (Simplifying the objectives of law for visitors of mosques), an *ahkam* (legal precepts and rulings) manual on mosques.⁸¹ Al-Suyuti writes that according to *Tashil al-maqasid*, Ibn al-'Imad al-Aqfahsi allows Muslims to enter churches and pray there only if four conditions are met:

Firstly, that [Christians] give permission to [a Muslim] to enter ... Secondly, that there should be no images [*tasawir*] for if there were images on its walls, which is usually the case, entering it is prohibited, for entering an abode that has images is forbidden. However, if it had images that are not removable, then yes [entry to that church] is allowed on the authority of al-Istakhri and Ibn al-Sabbagh Thirdly, it is forbidden if there is an increase in their black clothing and their rituals and their prayers and the glorification of their worship. Fourthly, that there should be no impurity [*najasa*] in it for if there was impurity then it is not allowed except if it is changed.⁸²

Al-Suyuti ends the discussion with the example of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which he states is forbidden for a Muslim to visit since it contains images.⁸³ It is not clear here why this would be the ruling since, as al-Suyuti adjudicates based on the authorities he cites, if images cannot be removed then entry to the church should be allowed. In fact, as will be demonstrated later, Muslims did visit the Church

of the Nativity, especially during the Ottoman period, as the accounts of Ottoman travel literature on Jerusalem reveal.

However, al-Suyuti's introduction here of certain conditions that enable Muslims to enter churches is in contrast to the Hanbali view on the matter. Writing during the fourteenth century (eighth century AH), Ibn Taymiyya addresses this question in his *Qa'ida fi ziyarat Bayt al-Maqdis* (A legal treatise on undertaking pilgrimage to Jerusalem), a work opining on the legality of visiting Islamic and non-Islamic holy sites in the city.⁸⁴ In this short work, Ibn Taymiyya asserts that traveling to Jerusalem with the intention of undertaking pilgrimage (*ziyara*) and praying there is permissible, as long as the rituals practiced are legally-sanctioned worship (*'ibada mashru'a*).⁸⁵ In other words, Ibn Taymiyya permits practicing *ziyara* to Jerusalem but with limitations on what a pilgrim can or cannot do there. He thus proceeds to list certain *ziyara* rituals and practices that are forbidden in and around the city. One of the pilgrimage rituals Ibn Taymiyya opposes is visiting churches and other Christian sacred sites in Jerusalem. For example, he opposes pilgrimage to Jabal Sahyun (Mount Zion), the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*al-mawdi' al-musamma bi-al-qumama*), and Bethlehem.⁸⁶ Ibn Taymiyya thus inherits the post-Crusades Hanbali approach to the Fada'il al-Quds, which not only eliminates biblical material from the corpus, but also, as the case here with Ibn Taymiyya's *Qa'ida*, forbids Muslims from entering churches altogether.

Ibn Taymiyya's precepts banning Muslims from entering churches represents the Hanbali inheritance of strictly Islamic traditions on Jerusalem, while al-Suyuti's more flexible approach provides the Shafi'i ruling on the question of whether Muslims can enter churches in the city. Nevertheless, both *madhhabs'* articulations on the question are an interesting attempt to locate this issue within Islamic law, and can therefore be read as part of the increased Islamic character of post-Crusades Fada'il al-Quds works. Yet by introducing such analysis to the Fada'il al-Quds corpus, authors paradoxically relaxed the outright prohibition on entering churches cited in pre-Crusades works. Muslims were now able to visit churches subject only to specific conditions. As a result, the door was left open for Muslims who desired to visit churches, and Christian holy sites became increasingly incorporated within the Islamic sacred landscape of Jerusalem. The practice of visiting churches in Bayt al-Maqdis became even more widespread, especially during the Ottoman period.

The View from the Early Modern Ottoman Period

The early modern Ottoman period experienced a decline in new Fada'il al-Quds works.⁸⁷ In comparison to the many works of Fada'il al-Quds produced during the Mamluk period, less than ten known works were composed during the Ottoman period.⁸⁸ In place of Fada'il al-Quds texts, Arabic travelogue literature specifically on Jerusalem thrived during this period. Muslim travelers who visited the city and toured the Holy Land composed these works and, indeed, through these Arabic travel writings on Ottoman Jerusalem Fada'il al-Quds traditions were preserved during the early modern period.⁸⁹ Arabic travelogue literature on Jerusalem contains

detailed observations and reports on the city, but they also quote earlier sources on Jerusalem, including referencing extensively from the Fada'il al-Quds literature.⁹⁰ In fact, many of these travel writings reproduced Fada'il al-Quds works in full.⁹¹ As such, the Arab travelers' accounts on Jerusalem during the Ottoman period serve not only as a rich historical source for the city during this period, but also constitutes a reservoir of Fada'il al-Quds writings, thus maintaining and continuing this important religiohistorical genre.

Some of the surviving Fada'il al-Quds texts composed during the Ottoman period provide further insight into the debate over whether Muslims should visit Christian sites in the Holy Land. For example, in *al-Mustaqsa fi fada'il al-Masjid al-Aqsa* (The comprehensive survey into the merits of al-Aqsa Mosque), Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Khidr al-Maqdisi (d. 1545/952 AH) cites the same debate on the legality of Muslims entering churches that al-Suyuti had earlier expounded upon in his *Ithaf al-akhissa*. Following his account of the traditions on the Tomb of the Virgin Mary and its church near Gethsemane, Ibn



Figure 6. Yusuf al-Natsheh, “al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya” [Church of St. Anne], in *Discover Islamic Art*, Museum with No Frontiers, 2023; online at islamicart.museumwnf.org/database/item.php?id=monument;ISL;pa;Mon01;33;en (accessed 21 September 2023).

Khidr al-Maqdisi delineates the opinions of several scholars before outlining the same four conditions that permit a Muslim to enter a church.⁹² Interestingly, Ibn Khidr al-Maqdisi cites another sacred space that is connected to Mary – the Church of St. Anne (see figure 6).⁹³ Built first by the Crusaders, the Church of St. Anne was named after Mary's mother. Following Salah al-Din's capture of Jerusalem, the church was converted to a madrasa bearing the Ayyubid sultan's name – al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya.⁹⁴

On the other hand, in *Lata'ifuns al-jalilfitaha'ifal-Quds wa al-Khalil* (The elegances of the sublime companion in the gifts of Jerusalem and Hebron), another Fada'il al-Quds work from the Ottoman period, Mustafa As'ad al-Luqaymi (d. 1759/1173 AH) reports the tradition that discourages Muslims from visiting *any* church, warning that committing one sin in a church is equivalent to a thousand sins (and that a good deed done in a church is similarly multiplied).⁹⁵ Yet, in other sections he openly describes how Muslims visited and prayed in certain churches. For example, in his account of *al-kanisa al-Jismaniyya*, al-Luqaymi states that this church and Mary's tomb within it are frequented by both Muslims and Christians: "and on the Mount of Olives there is a church called the Church of Gethsemane ... that holds the Tomb of Mary peace be upon her, a place visited by Muslim and Christian pilgrims."⁹⁶ Yet even though he reports the visits of Muslims to this church, al-Luqaymi immediately follows this account with the reports of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab's regret for praying there and Ka'b's exhortation to Muslims not to enter it.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, al-Luqaymi continues to detail the shared sacred spaces among Muslims and Christians in the city. According to al-Luqaymi, *kanisat Sahyun* was a highly frequented sacred space, visited by Muslims and Christians.⁹⁸ This *kanisat Sahyun* is, as explained earlier, the Church of St. Mary of Mount Sion, which houses the Cenacle of the Last Supper frequented, naturally, by Christians, as well as the Tomb of David, which is sacred to and visited by Muslims and Jews.⁹⁹ Even al-Luqaymi's detailed description of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem betrays his earlier precepts on visiting churches in this Fada'il al-Quds work. Indeed, in his report on the towns and villages surrounding Jerusalem, al-Luqaymi mentions Bethlehem, the town "where Jesus was born,"¹⁰⁰ describing its population as mainly Christian before proceeding to provide a detailed description of both the outside *and* the inside of the Church of the Nativity:

And within [Bethlehem] there is a well-built church, within it there are three *mihrabs*, one of which is facing the blessed *qibla*, and the second facing eastward, and the third toward the Blessed Rock [*al-sakhra al-sharifa*] [in al-Haram al-Sharif]. And its roof is made of wood, raised upon fifty pillars of yellow marble, in addition to the walls built of rocks, and its floor furnished with marble ... And it is built by Helen [mother of Emperor Constantine], and within it is the birthplace of Jesus peace be upon him, in a cave ... between the three *mihrabs*.¹⁰¹

Considering the great details in his report, it is safe to assume that al-Luqaymi had paid a visit to this church, which he himself confirms in his travelogue on Jerusalem, *Tahdhib mawanih al-uns bi-rihlati li-wadi al-Quds* (The refinement of the companion's pleasantries in my voyage to the Valley of Jerusalem).¹⁰²

Indeed, in *Tahdhib mawanih al-uns*, al-Luqaymi directly reports on his visits to several churches. For example, during his stay at Bethlehem, al-Luqaymi writes that he in fact visited the Church of the Nativity.¹⁰³ Although he laments that Christians controlled the church, he nevertheless emotes on the beauty of the site and includes a

long description of Jesus's life.¹⁰⁴ During his tour of Jerusalem, al-Luqaymi writes that he visited the church at Gethsemane where Mary is buried – the Church of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat – and recited the Qur'an at its door.¹⁰⁵ He then writes an ode to Mary, followed by an account of his visit to the Mount of Olives where he composed another ode to Jesus and the episode in which he was raised to the Heavens by God.¹⁰⁶

Similarly, in the travelogue *al-Hadra al-unsiiyya fi al-rihla al-Qudsiyya* (The sublime presence in the Jerusalemite voyage), 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (1641–1731/1050–1143 AH) reports on his visit to several churches during his travels to the Holy Land in 1690 (1101 AH). In Bethlehem, al-Nabulusi visited the Church of the Nativity, and stood and recited the Qur'an there. He follows this report with one of many of his poems, including an ode to Bethlehem and to Jesus. Al-Nabulusi further describes in great detail the Grotto of the Nativity, where it is believed that Jesus was born.¹⁰⁷ He also describes the Mount of Olives and how, according to Islamic tradition, God had raised Jesus to the Heavens from the Mount, after which he recounts a visit to the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, a famous place that, according to the author, "is frequented by many people including Muslims and Christians," adding that "this church is built by Helen mother of Constantine."¹⁰⁸ By visiting the church and attending to Mary's tomb, al-Nabulusi thus overlooked the tradition's prohibition against Muslims entering churches.

The relaxation of such prohibitions – and the resultant frequent visits paid by Muslims to Christian holy sites – during the Ottoman period is further evident in the late eighteenth century (twelfth century AH) travelogue of Muhammad ibn 'Uthman al-Miknasi, *Ihraz al-mu'alla wa al-raqib fi hajj Bayt Allah al-Haram wa ziyarat al-Quds al-Sharif wa-al-Khalil wa-al-tabarruk bi-qabr al-Habib* (Reaching [God] the Noble and the Watchful in the hajj to God's Noble Sanctuary [in Mecca] and pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Hebron and attaining the blessings of the Prophet's Tomb [in Medina]) (tr. 1785).¹⁰⁹ Like al-Luqaymi and al-Nabulusi before him, the Moroccan al-Miknasi paid visits to several churches in the Holy Land. For example, during his visit to the Mount of Olives, al-Miknasi entered Mary's Tomb. Like al-Luqaymi, al-Miknasi lamented Christian control of this sacred space, where he also recited the *Fatiha*, the opening chapter of the Qur'an. Al-Miknasi also visited the Chapel of the Ascension. Here, al-Miknasi reveals his knowledge of the importance of the place, explaining that it was from here that "Jesus peace be upon him was raised."¹¹⁰ He also stopped in Bethlehem and, against al-Suyuti's precept, visited the Church of the Nativity there, entering inside to view the cradle of Jesus and read the *Fatiha*.¹¹¹

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre: An Exception to the Rule?

What about the most sacred Christian site in the Holy Land, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? Fada'il al-Quds texts are replete with negative traditions regarding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (see figure 7). The church is commonly referred to with the derogatory title *kanisat al-qumama*, the Church of the Dunghill, a play on the

name of the church in Arabic, *kanisat al-qiyama* (the Church of the Resurrection).¹¹² According to Islamic traditions in Fada'il al-Quds works, Christians during the Byzantine period would dump their refuse (*qumama*) onto the Noble Rock on the Temple Mount.¹¹³ Following the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem during the seventh century (first century AH), the Rock, according to the Fada'il traditions, was cleaned of the piles of refuse and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre began instead to be referred to pejoratively by Muslims as *kanisat al-qumama*.¹¹⁴



Figure 7. Yusuf al-Natsheh, "Church of the Holy Sepulchre," in *Discover Islamic Art*, Museum with No Frontiers, 2023; online at islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=monument;IS-L;pa;Mon01;20;en (accessed 21 September 2023).

Although the Fada'il al-Quds literature does not extol the sanctity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, nevertheless there are indications that Muslims did in fact visit this church. The earliest source describing visits by Muslims to Christian holy sites dates back several centuries before Ibn Taymiyya had composed his treatise. As early as the tenth century (fourth century AH), medieval Arabo-Islamic authors have reported how Muslims shared sacred spaces with fellow Christians in Jerusalem. For example, in his *Muruj al-dhahab wa ma'adin al-jawhar* (Meadows of gold and mines of gem), Abu al-Hasan 'Ali b. al-Husayn al-Mas'udi (born probably a few years before 893/280 AH and died 956/346 AH) wrote on the city and its Christian

holy sites.¹¹⁵ While describing the days of Easter, al-Mas‘udi reports on the celebrated day of the Miracle of Holy Fire, describing, significantly, the presence of Muslims during the festivities at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre:

On the 5th day of the (Syrian) month Tishrin I (October) is the festival of the Kanisah al Kumâmah (Church of the Sepulchre) at Jerusalem. The Christians assemble for this festival from out all lands. For on it the Fire from Heaven doth descend among them, so that they kindle therefrom the candles. *The Muslims also are wont to assemble in great crowds to see the sight of the festival.* It is the custom also at this time to pluck olive leaves. The Christians hold many legends there anent; but the Fire is produced by a clever artifice, which is kept a great secret.¹¹⁶

Guy Le Strange remarks that al-Mas‘udi’s reports here, which were composed in 943 (332 AH), are significant since they were written only several decades after Bernard the Wise had made his observations on the Miracle of Holy Fire in 867 (252 AH), which, according to Le Strange, is the first known report made by a medieval Western European on this curious festival.¹¹⁷

A couple of centuries later, the presence of Muslims inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is further confirmed by Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi (d. 1215/611 AH).¹¹⁸ Writing in his twelfth century (sixth century AH) pilgrimage manual, *Kitab al-isharat li-ma‘rifat al-ziyarat* (The book of signs to inform pilgrimage), al-Harawi lists the holy sites in Jerusalem, including important Christian churches in the city.¹¹⁹ He explains that the greatest church here is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and proceeds to provide details about the place, including descriptions of both its interior and exterior. Ending his account of the church, he adds that, concerning the Miracle of Holy Fire (*nuzul al-nur*), he was able to, after staying in Jerusalem a considerable duration, figure out how it happens.¹²⁰ He also writes elsewhere that he had recorded measurements and outlines of the entire church, although his observations were – frustratingly – lost when his ship sunk off the coast of Sicily.¹²¹ Considering his detailed knowledge of the inside of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, his familiarity with the Miracle of the Holy Fire and its apparent workings, along with his (lost) architectural measurements of the church, it can be safely hypothesized that al-Harawi had visited Christianity’s holiest spot.

Similarly, and during the same century, al-Idrisi also recorded in detail the inside of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In his 1154/548 AH geography work *Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi ikhtiraq al-afaq* (The voyage of the yearned to penetrate the horizons), Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah b. Idris al-Hammudi, known as al-Sharif al-Idrisi, describes the geography and topography of Jerusalem and its important holy places, including Christian sites. Here al-Idrisi provides an even more detailed description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. While it is known that al-Idrisi had travelled in the western Islamic lands, it is not certain whether he had visited Jerusalem during his travels. However, his elaborate portrait of the interior of the church may lead one to believe that he may have visited the Holy City.

Three centuries later, the Hanbali Mujir al-Din reports in *al-Uns al-jalil* that during the Fatimid period (909–1171/297–567 AH), Muslims were known to not only visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre but also to participate in Christian ceremonies during Easter.¹²² Mujir al-Din notes that Muslim participation during these festivities continued into the latter part of the fifteenth century (ninth century AH), at the time when he was writing his *al-Uns al-jalil*:

And they [the Christians] until today ... [perform their Easter ceremonies] in the [Church of] Qumama [Church of the Holy Sepulchre] ... That day [of the Miracle of Holy Fire] is called Holy Saturday (*Sabt al-Nur*), and there committed on that day the wrong (*al-munkar*) in the presence of Muslims, which should be forbidden for Muslims to see or hear.¹²³

Not only does Mujir al-Din report the presence of Muslims at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during Easter, but he, as a Hanbali scholar writing after the Crusades, is also forbidding Muslims from entering churches, in this case Christianity's holiest spot.

Although Mujir al-Din admonishes such practices in the strongest terms, the presence of Muslims in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during Easter is revealing. Despite the protestations by Mujir al-Din and other Hanbali 'ulama', Muslims continued to visit churches in Jerusalem. They even participated, in one form or another, and side by side with Christians in performing certain rituals in churches throughout the Holy Land for centuries.

Conclusion

Such reports on Muslims and Christians sharing sacred spaces in Jerusalem must have caused great consternation among the conservative Muslim establishment. As revealed in this study, the Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymiyya was thus compelled to write his *Qa'ida* against certain pilgrimage rituals in the Holy Land.¹²⁴ Yet Ibn Taymiyya's exhortations seem to have gone unheeded and, furthermore, it represented only the Hanbali teachings on the matter. As analysis of Fada'il al-Quds literature and Ottoman travelogue works on Jerusalem shows, Muslims visited and extolled the sanctity of certain Christian sacred spaces before, during, and after Ibn Taymiyya's lifetime. Different Christian holy sites, including the Mount of Olives, the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, the Church of the Ascension, and the Church of the Nativity were sanctified in the Islamic tradition based on their connection with figures and episodes significant to both Christianity and Islam.

While certain traditions in pre-Crusade texts discouraged Muslims from visiting churches, Fada'il al-Quds works written after the Crusades began to show a more flexible attitude toward this phenomenon. As part of the increasing Islamic character of the genre, scholarly authors began to rely on Islamic authorities to settle the debate over the legality of Muslims visiting churches, especially in the Shafi'i *madhhab*, which paradoxically resulted in setting forth conditions that allowed Muslims to visit

churches. By the time of the Ottoman period, evidence from Fada'il al-Quds and travelogue literature dating from the early modern era indicated that Muslims of the period frequently visited churches and performed Islamic rituals within the confines of these sacred Christian spaces. Even the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with its contentious and less than flattering image in the Fada'il al-Quds traditions, was, according to authors of the period, frequented by Muslims for centuries. They not only entered the church but also participated with fellow Christians in Easter ceremonies.

It must be said that there were tangible divisions, hostilities, and barriers to mixing, which were set up by some Hanbali *'ulama'* at the time and even by political authorities. There was Ibn Taymiyya's religious treatise against visiting churches in Jerusalem. There were also architectural efforts by Mamluk authorities, such as, for example, the highly symbolic construction of the Salahiyya minaret and the renewal of the minaret of Jami' 'Umar (the Mosque of 'Umar), which were flanking the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.¹²⁵ These building contributions can be seen as expressing perhaps an act of Islamic hostility towards and/or domination over Christianity's holiest site. Yet one could argue that these religious and architectural policies were in fact pursued as a result of anxiety over increased Islamic pilgrimage to Christian holy sites in the city. For example, Ibn Taymiyya clearly felt compelled to author his treatise as a result of an increase in Islamic pilgrimage to churches and other Christian sites in the Holy Land. Similarly, it could be argued that the Mamluk authorities built the Salahiyya minaret and the minaret of the Mosque of 'Umar partly due to the increased number of Muslims visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Were the authorities merely expressing Islamic domination over the Christian presence in the city, or was there perhaps tangible anxiety among the religious and political authorities over the flocking of Muslim pilgrims to the gates of the Christian martyrdom? Were the two minarets built to remind Muslims who visited there every Easter, as Mujir al-Din informs us, of the importance and paramountcy of the Islamic faith, and thus compelling them to turn around and not enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? It is also interesting to note that the Sufi lodge al-Khanqa al-Salahiyya was also established immediately adjacent to the church, which would have further increased Muslim traffic around, and perhaps even inside, the church, thus perhaps further fueling the anxiety over an increased Muslim presence at Christianity's holiest spot.

I have argued elsewhere that due to the scattering of many Islamic holy sites across Mamluk Jerusalem, along with the construction of many religious institutions and living quarters to accommodate the exponential growth of Muslim pilgrims and their worship, study, movement, and lodging throughout these places, the Islamic holy sphere in Mamluk Jerusalem diffused throughout the city – in the Haram, around it, deep within the confines of the urban fabric of the city, and even around and outside Jerusalem's walls.¹²⁶ Such diffusion of the Islamic religious sphere, I have stated, blurred the boundaries between the city's sacred and secular quarters. One major consequence of this blurring of "liminal spaces" is that the Islamic religious sphere expanded over and overlapped with the Christian religious presence in the city. As this study has shown, the diffusion of the Islamic religious sphere can also be

seen through the many holy sites Muslims shared with Christians, a religiohistorical phenomenon that is only inevitable for a city so defined by its central role within the three monotheistic faiths as the city of Jerusalem. Demarcating where Muslims can worship and where they are prohibited from visiting becomes as impossible a task as separating exactly where in Jerusalem the sacred sphere ends and where the secular profane begins. Naturally, then, sharing sacred spaces among Muslims and Christians simply becomes an inescapable feature of Jerusalem and its past; it is hoped as well that this syncretic tradition can only continue today and in the immediate and distant future.

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Endnotes

- 1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the American Academy of Religion's Annual Meeting in Denver, Colorado. I would like to thank the Institute for Palestine Studies, the jury members of the *Jerusalem Quarterly's* Ibrahim Dakkak Award, and especially Alex Winder and Carol Khoury for their thoughtful feedback and editorial efforts on the article. I would also like to thank Eva Schubert and the Museum with No Frontiers for generously allowing me to reproduce images in this article from their excellent website, Discover Islamic Art. Many thanks also to Roberto Mazza for hosting me on his podcast *Jerusalem Unplugged*, where I discussed this article along with other aspects of my research on Islamic Jerusalem. Finally, I would like to dedicate this article to the memory of the late Jerusalemite Palestinian Kamil Jamil al-'Asali, for his significant scholarly contributions to the study of Jerusalem, including his invaluable research on the Fada'il al-Quds specifically, and on medieval Islamic Jerusalem more generally, without which this study would not have been possible. May his spirit – and his writings – reverberate throughout our literary excavations of the history of al-Quds al-Sharif.
- 2 For studies on Islamic pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Palestine, see Taufik Canaan,

Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1927); Yehoshua Frenkel, "Muslim Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Mamluk Period," in *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land*, ed. Bryan F. Le Beau and Menachem Mor (Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 1996), 63–87; Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Andreas Kaplony, *The Haram of Jerusalem, 324–1099: Temple, Friday Mosque, Area of Spiritual Power* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2002); and, most recently, Fadi Ragheb, "City as Liminal Space: Islamic Pilgrimage and Muslim Holy Sites in Jerusalem during the Mamluk Period," in *The Friday Mosque in the City: Liminality, Ritual, and Politics*, ed. Hilal Ugurlu and Suzan Yalman (Bristol: Intellect, 2020), 75–122. On translations of descriptions of Jerusalem by medieval Muslim geographers, travelers, and chroniclers, see the indispensable work, Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500* (London: Alexander P. Watt, 1890); and A. Sebastianus Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1951). For an edited Arabic volume of travel writings on Jerusalem, see Kamil Jamil al-'Asali, *Bayt al-*

Maqdis fi kutub al-rihlat 'inda al-'Arab wa-al-Muslimin (Amman: Kamil Jamil al-'Asali, 1992).

- 3 On the Fada'il al-Quds genre, its manuscripts and authors, see the following biobibliographical catalogues: Kamil J. al-'Asali, *Makhtutat fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis* [Merits of Jerusalem manuscripts] (Amman: Manshurat Mujma' al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya al-Urduni, 1981); Mahmud Ibrahim, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis fi makhtutat 'Arabiyya qadima* [Merits of Jerusalem in ancient Arabic manuscripts] (al-Safat, Kuwait: al-Munazzama al-'Arabiyya li'l-Tarbiya wa-al-Thaqafa wa-al-'Ulum, 1986); and Shihab Allah Bahadur, *Mu'jam ma ullifa fi fada'il wa tarikh al-masjid al-Aqsa wa-al-Quds wa Filastin wa muduniha* [Lexicon of what has been written on the merits and history of al-Aqsa mosque, Jerusalem, and Palestine and its cities] (Dubai: Markaz Jum'a al-Majid li'l-Thaqafa wa-al-Turath, 2009). For studies on the Fada'il al-Quds, see J. W. Hirschberg, "The Sources of Moslem Traditions Concerning Jerusalem," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17 (1951–52): 314–50; A. H. Busse, "Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam," *Judaism* 17 (1968): 441–68; M. J. Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques," *Le Museon* 82 (1969): 173–96; Emmanuel Sivan, "The Beginnings of the Fada'il al-Quds Literature," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 263–71; Isaac Hasson, "Muqaddima," in Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Wasiti, *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. Isaac Hasson (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1979); M. J. Kister, "A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981): 185–86; Ofer Livne-Kafri, "A Note on Some Traditions of Fada'il al-Quds," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991): 71–83; Moshe Sharon, "The 'Praises of Jerusalem' as a Source for the Early History of Islam," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 46, no. 1 (1992): 56–67; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem, passim*, especially 1–22; Isaac Hasson, "The Muslim View of Jerusalem – the Qur'an and Hadith," in *History of Jerusalem: Early Muslim Period, 638–1099*, ed. Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 349–85; Ofer Livne-Kafri, "The Muslim Traditions 'In Praise of Jerusalem' (Fada'il al-Quds): Diversity and Complexity," *Annali* 58 (1998): 165–92;

Ofer Livne-Kafri, "Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis ('The Merits of Jerusalem'): Two Additional Notes," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 19 (2001): 61–70; Ofer Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem in Early Islam: The Eschatological Aspect," *Arabica* 53, no. 3 (2006): 382–403; Ofer Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem: The Navel of the Earth in Muslim Tradition," *Der Islam* 84, no. 1 (2008): 46–72.

Recent scholarship on the Fada'il al-Quds has benefited greatly from Suleiman Mourad's original research: Suleiman Mourad, "The Symbolism of Jerusalem in Early Islam," in *Jerusalem: Idea and Reality*, ed. Tamar Mayer and Suleiman A. Mourad (New York: Routledge, 2008), 86–102; Suleiman Mourad, "Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem's Religious Symbolism in Islam?" *al-'Usur al-Wusta: Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists* 22, no. 1–2 (2010): 3–8; Sulayman Murad (Suleiman Mourad), *Fada'il al-Quds: Dirasa tahliliyya ma' tajmi' li-nass kitab Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis li-l-Walid b. Hammad al-Ramli* [Merits of Jerusalem: an analytical study with a compilation of the text of the book Merits of Jerusalem by Walid b. Hammad al-Ramli] (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyya, 2019); Suleiman Mourad, "The Fada'il of Jerusalem Books as Anthologies," in *Approaches to the Study of Pre-modern Arabic Anthologies*, eds. Bilal Orfali and Nadia Maria El Cheikh (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 267–77.

- 4 For Jerusalem, see Ora Limor, "Sharing Sacred Space: Holy Places in Jerusalem between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam," in *In laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 219–31; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 138–46; Robert Schick, "Christian-Muslim Relations: The Archaeological Evidence," *Journal of Islamic Jerusalem Studies* 9 (Summer 2008): 47–58; Pamela Berger, "Jewish-Muslim Veneration at Pilgrimage Places in the Holy Land," *Religion and the Arts* 15 (2011): 1–60; Nimrod Luz, "Shared Sacred Sites in the Pre-Modern Holy Land," in *Shared Sacred Sites: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the New York Public Library*, ed. Karen Barkey, Dionigi Albera, and Manoël Pénicaud (New York: CUNY Graduate Center, the

- Morgan Library and Museum, 2018), 39–47; Ute Versteegen, “How to Share a Sacred Place: The Parallel Christian and Muslim Use of the Major Christian Holy Sites at Jerusalem and Bethlehem,” in *Ambassadors, Artists, Theologians: Byzantine Relations with the Near East from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Zachary Chitwood and Johannes Pahlitzsch (Heidelberg: Propylaeum, 2020), 29–44.
- For studies on shared sacred spaces in Palestine and the wider Holy Land see, for example, Amikam Elad, “Pilgrims and Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Hebron during the Early Muslim Period,” in *Routes of Faith in the Medieval Mediterranean: History, Monuments, People, Pilgrimage Perspectives*, ed. Evangelia Hadjistryphonos (Thessaloniki: European Centre of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, 2008), 349–59; Dionigi Albera, “Muslims at Marian Shrines,” in *Shared Sacred Sites*, ed. Barkey, Albera, and Pénicaud, 63–71; and Kathryn Blair Moore, “Shared Sacred Spaces in the Holy Land” in *The Cambridge Guide to the Architecture of Christianity*, I, ed. Richard A. Etlin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 489–94.
- 5 For shared sacred spaces in Greater Syria and the wider Mediterranean, see, for example, Benjamin Z. Kedar, “Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya,” in *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Yitzhak Hen (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001), 59–69; Josef Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Barkey, Albera, and Pénicaud, eds., *Shared Sacred Sites*; and the recent special issue dedicated to “Sharing Sacred Space in the Medieval Mediterranean” in *al-Masaq* 34, no. 2 (2022). For a survey, see Maria Couroucli, “Shared Sacred Places,” in *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, ed. Peregrine Horden and Sharon Kinoshita (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 378–91.
 - 6 On biblical material in the Fada’il al-Quds, see Hirschberg, “Sources of Moslem Traditions”; Sharon, “Praises of Jerusalem.”
 - 7 On the connection in the Fada’il al-Quds between the sanctity of Jerusalem in early Islam and Prophet Muhammad’s Nocturnal Journey, and the debates in modern scholarship on this issue, see Hasson, “Muslim View of Jerusalem,” 353–59.
 - 8 Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 6–22.
 - 9 See, for example, Livne-Kafri, “Jerusalem in Early Islam.”
 - 10 Sivan, “Beginnings of the *Fada’il al-Quds*,” 267; Ragheb, “City as Liminal Space,” 80, 81–84.
 - 11 On the development of the genre, see al-‘Asali, *Makhtutat*, 1–15; Sivan, “Beginnings of the *Fada’il al-Quds*”; Hasson, “Muqaddima”; Hasson, “Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem”; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 6–22; and Mourad, *Fada’il al-Quds*.
 - 12 On the early circulation and the writing down of the Fada’il al-Quds traditions, see Kister, “You Shall Only Set Out”; and Kister, “Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions.”
 - 13 Recently, Suleiman Mourad reconstructed al-Ramli’s work from later Fada’il al-Quds texts: Mourad, *Fada’il al-Quds*. See also Mourad, “Symbolism of Jerusalem in Early Islam.”
 - 14 Al-Wasiti, *Fada’il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*; Abu al-Ma‘ali al-Musharraf Ibn al-Murajja al-Maqdisi, *Fada’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, ed. Ayman Nasr al-Din al-Azhari (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2002). Hasson states that Ibn al-Murajja’s text was composed some three or four decades after al-Wasiti’s work: Hasson, “Muslim View of Jerusalem,” 369.
 - 15 On the influence of the texts of al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja on later authors during and after the Crusades, see al-‘Asali, *Makhtutat*, 28–29, 37; Ibrahim, *Fada’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 161; Mourad, “*Fada’il* of Jerusalem,” 272–74. There are several theories on why the Fada’il al-Quds texts composed by al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja emerged only during the eleventh century (fifth century AH). Sivan hypothesized that al-Wasiti (and Ibn al-Murajja) may have written his text as a result of – and in justification for – the persecutions of Christians by the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim and his destruction of the Holy Sepulchre: Sivan, “Beginnings of the *Fada’il al-Quds*,” 269–70. Hasson counters that one reason there were no Fada’il al-Quds works composed before the eleventh century was the lack of madrasas in the city and, more importantly, that the collapse of the larger dome of Qubbat al-Sakhra after the earthquake of 1016–17 (407 AH) led al-

- Wasiti, in a “fund-raising campaign” style, to compose his tract to help collect funds to rebuild the damaged structure above the *sakhra*: Hasson, “Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem,” 173. I would posit that another major factor may have contributed to the composition of Fada’il al-Quds books by al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja during the eleventh century (fifth century AH). In the history of medieval European pilgrimage, the eleventh century is considered, as Jonathan Sumption had elegantly put it, the “Great Age of Pilgrimage” to the Holy Land, when thousands of Europeans, including members of the ruling classes, undertook the long journey to Palestine to visit the Holy Land and pray at its Christian hallowed sites. It is possible that al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja were motivated to compose their treatises on Jerusalem when witnessing the increased number of European Christian pilgrims descending onto their city. Their compositions were thus efforts to counter the heightened Christian presence in Jerusalem, providing an intellectual response to the influx of Christian pilgrims by renewing the Islamic sanctification of Bayt al-Maqdis in their texts. See Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), 114–45.
- 16 On the Muslim ideological response to the Crusades, including the proliferation of Fada’il al-Quds literature, see Emanuel Sivan, “Le caractère sacré de Jérusalem dans l’Islam aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles,” *Studia Islamica* 27 (1967): 149–82; *L’Islam et la Croisade, idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux Croisade* (Paris: Paris Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient, 1968). For a chronological list of Fada’il al-Quds composed before, during, and after the end of the Crusades, see al-‘Asali, *Makhtutat*. See also Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 162–65, 175–80; Mourad, “Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem’s Religious Symbolism?”
- 17 Al-Qasim Baha’ al-Din Hasan ibn ‘Ali ibn ‘Asakir, *al-Mustaqsa fi ziyarat al-Masjid al-Aqsa*, in *Arba’ Rasa’il fi Fada’il al-Masjid al-Aqsa li-Ibn ‘Asakir wa-Ibn al-Firkah wa-al-Maqdisi*, ed. Muhammad Zinham (Cairo: Dar al-Nada, 2000), 31–50; Abu al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Ali Ibn al-Jawzi, *Fada’il al-Quds*, ed. Jibra’il Sulayman Jabbur (Beirut: Dar al-Afaq al-Jadida, 1979); Diya’ al-Din Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahid al-Maqdisi, *Fada’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, ed. Muhammad Muti’ al-Hafiz (Damascus: Dar al-Fikr, 1985). On these authors and their texts, see Mourad, “Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem’s Religious Symbolism?”
- 18 Michael Hamilton Burgoyne and D. S. Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (Essex: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1987), 61a-b; Donald S. Little, “Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks,” in *Jerusalem in History: 3,000 B.C. to the Present Day*, ed. Kamil J. Asali (London: Kegan Paul International, 1997), 189–94; Ghalib Anabsi, “Popular Beliefs as Reflected in ‘Merits of Palestine and Syria’ (*Fada’il al-Sham*) Literature: Pilgrimage Ceremonies and Customs in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 19, no. 1 (2008): 61; Frenkel, “Muslim Pilgrimage to Jerusalem,” 70–76; Ragheb, “City as Liminal Space.”
- 19 Al-‘Asali, *Makhtutat*, 41–114: here al-‘Asali cites no less than twenty works produced during the Mamluk period. See also: Mourad, “Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem’s Religious Symbolism?”
- 20 These include *Ba’ith al-nufus ila ziyarat al-Quds al-mahrus* by Burhan al-Din ibn al-Firkah al-Fazari (1262–1329/660–729 AH); *Muthir al-Gharam ila Ziyarat al-Quds wa al-Sham* by Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Hilal al-Maqdisi (d. 1363 [765 AH]); *al-Rawd al-mugharras fi fada’il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* by Abu al-Nasr Taj al-Din ‘Abd al-Wahhab ibn ‘Umar al-Husayni al-Shafi’i (d. 1470/875 AH); Shams al-Din al-Suyuti’s *Ithaf al-akhissa bi-fada’il al-Masjid al-Aqsa* (1475/880 AH) and Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaymi’s *al-Uns al-jalil bi-ta’rikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil* (1496/901 AH). All of these Mamluk Fada’il al-Quds texts have been published: Burhan al-Din ibn al-Firkah al-Fazari, *Ba’ith al-nufus ila ziyarat al-Quds al-mahrus*, trans. Charles D. Matthews, *Palestine, Mohammedan Holy Land*, Part I (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949); Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Hilal al-Maqdisi, *Muthir al-gharam ila ziyarat al-Quds wa-al-Sham*, ed. Ahmad al-Khutaymi (Beirut: Dar al-Jil, 1994); Abu al-Nasr Taj al-Din ‘Abd al-Wahhab ibn ‘Umar al-Husayni al-Shafi’i, *al-Rawd al-mugharras fi fada’il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, ed. Zuhayr

- Ghanayim ‘Abd al-Latif (Amman: Dar Jarir lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzi’, 2009); Muhammad ibn Shihab al-Din al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-Akhissa bi-Fada’il al-Masjid al-Aqsa*, ed. Ahmad Ramadan Ahmad, 2 vols. (Cairo: al-Hay’a al-Misriyya al-‘Amma li-l-Kitab, 1982); Mujir al-Din ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad al-‘Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil bi-ta’rikh al-Quds wa-al-Khalil*, ed. Muhammad Bahr al-‘Ulum, 2 vols. (Najaf, Iraq: al-Matba’a al-Haydariyya, 1968). On Mujir al-Din’s text, see Donald P. Little, “Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaymi’s Vision of Jerusalem in the Ninth/Fifteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 2 (April–June 1995): 237–47.
- 21 Shams al-Din al-Suyuti, like some other authors, composed his text during his visit to Jerusalem: see al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 82–83.
- 22 Al-‘Asali, *Makhtutat*, 9; Hasson, “Muslim View of Jerusalem,” 377–79. A post-Mamluk, Ottoman-era work was composed in 1541 (948 AH) by Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Khidr al-Maqdisi, *al-Mustaqsa fi fada’il al-Masjid al-Aqsa*, ed. Mashhur al-Habbazi (Jerusalem: Bayt al-Shi’r al-Filastini, 2008).
- 23 On sharing sacred spaces on the Mount of Olives during the medieval period, see Limor, “Sharing Sacre Space,” 227–29; Luz, “Shared Sacred Sites,” 44–45; and Versteegen, “How to Share a Sacred Place,” 37–39.
- 24 Anna ‘Isa ibn Maryam rufi’a min Tur Zayta: al-Wasiti, *Fada’il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* 48, 70; Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 324; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Fada’il al-Quds*, 70–71; Shihab al-Din al-Maqdisi, *Muthir al-gharam*, 79; al-Husayni al-Shafi’i, *al-Rawd al-mugharras*, 171–72, 183; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 222–23; Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaymi, *Al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 167, 266. On the Islamic narrative of Jesus and his crucifixion, see Todd Lawson, *The Crucifixion and the Qur’an: A Study in the History of Muslim Thought* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2009); and Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *Qur’anic Christians: An Analysis of Classical and Modern Exegesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 25 Al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 213–14; and Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 167, 170. See also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 140, 145–46; and Ragheb, “City as Liminal Space,” 89.
- 26 Luz, “Sharing the Holy Land,” 44.
- 27 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 98, 322–23; Ibn al-Firkah, *Ba’ith al-nufus*, 6, 17, 20, 21; Shihab al-Din al-Maqdisi, *Muthir al-gharam*, 77, 241; al-Husayni al-Shafi’i, *al-Rawd al-mugharras*, 181; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 222. On al-Sahira, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 141–44.
- 28 The word al-Sahira is cited in the Qur’an in verse 79:14 (*fa-idha hum bi-al-Sahira*).
- 29 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 322–23; Shihab al-Din al-Maqdisi, *Muthir al-gharam*, 241; al-Husayni al-Shafi’i, *al-Rawd al-mugharras*, 181; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 222.
- 30 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 98; Ibn al-Firkah, *Ba’ith al-nufus*, 6, 17, 20, 21.
- 31 On Islamic pilgrimage to the Tomb of the Virgin Mary and other Christian sacred spaces associated with Mary, see Moore, “Shared Sacred Spaces in the Holy Land.”
- 32 On *al-isra’*, see Frederick Stephen Colby, *Narrating Muhammad’s Night Journey: Tracing the Development of the Ibn ‘Abbas Ascension Discourse* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008).
- 33 Al-Wasiti, *Fada’il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* 49, no. 73 (all translations are mine unless stated otherwise); Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 334; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Fada’il al-Quds*, 121; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 214, 238. The exact location of Mihrab Dawud differed across time during the medieval period, with some authors of the *Fada’il al-Quds*, such as al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja, pointing to the Tower of David in Jerusalem’s citadel, while later Mamluk authors, such as Mujir al-Din, situating it on the Haram compound.
- 34 Albera, “Muslims at Marian Shrines,” 66.
- 35 Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 291–92. See also, Denys Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993–2009), III, 342–46. The mystic is assumed to have been buried in Basra, Iraq: see Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi, *Kitab al-isharat li-ma’rifat al-ziyarat*, ed. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1953), 28; Limor, “Sharing Sacred Space,” 228.
- 36 *Wa huwa fi zawiya yunzal ilayha min daraj wa huwa makan ma’nus yuqsad li-l-ziyara*: Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 292.
- 37 Limor, “Sharing Sacred Space,” 227–29, and

- using Kedar's typology to analyze the type and location of the shared sacred spaces here: Kedar, "Convergences."
- 38 *Fa-lamma mararna bi-Bayt Lahm qala li Jibril: Hatha mawlid akhuk 'Isa fa-inzil fa-salli*: Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 343–45.
- 39 Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 170.
- 40 Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 170.
- 41 See Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, III, 287–306. For discussion of the Church of Holy Sepulchre, see below.
- 42 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 182–83.
- 43 Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 158–62 (*wa 'ammadahu Yahya ibn Zakariyya*).
- 44 Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 161.
- 45 On the Church of Saint Mary of Mount Sion, which also houses the Tomb of David and the Cenacle of the Last Supper, see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 212; Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, III, 261–87. On sharing sacred spaces here at the Tomb of David, see Limor, "Sharing Sacred Space," 223–27.
- 46 Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 117; see also Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 334.
- 47 *Wa yuqal inna qabr Dawud alayhi al-salam bi-Kanisat Sahyun ... wa hiya al-lati bi-zahir al-Quds min jihat al-qibla wa fi Kanisat Sahyun al-madhkura mawdi' tu'azzimuhu al-Nasara ... wa hatha al-mawdi' huwa al-an bi-aydi al-muslimin*: Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 117. On the Tomb of David and Church of Sion in medieval Arabic travelogues, see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 203, 212.
- 48 Limor, "Sharing Sacred Space," 223.
- 49 Al-Wasiti, *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 85, no. 137; Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 97, 176–81; Ibn al-Firkah, *Ba'ith al-nufus*, 20, 22; al-Husayni al-Shafi'i, *al-Rawd al-mugharras*, 180; Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 160, 273. See also: Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 164–66; Priscilla Soucek, "The Temple after Solomon: The Role of Maryam Bint 'Imran and Her *Mihrab*," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezael Narkiss on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998), 34–41; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 93–97; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 664–73; Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, III, 310–14; Nabil Matar, "The Cradle of Jesus and the Oratory of Mary in Jerusalem's al-Haram al-Sharif," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 70 (Summer 2017): 111–25.
- 50 Al-Wasiti, *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 85, no. 137; Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 97, 176–81; Ibn al-Firkah, *Ba'ith al-nufus*, 20, 22.
- 51 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 176–81.
- 52 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 97.
- 53 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 97; Ibn al-Firkah, *Ba'ith al-nufus*, 20, 22; al-Husayni al-Shafi'i, *al-Rawd al-mugharras*, 180; Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 160, 273. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 117–30; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 662–64, where Kaplony argues that *Mihrab Zakariya* is actually in the northeastern corner of the Haram inside the eastern Haram wall.
- 54 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 97; Ibn al-Firkah, *Ba'ith al-nufus*, 19; al-Husayni al-Shafi'i, *al-Rawd al-mugharras*, 180.
- 55 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 97.
- 56 On the Spring (Pool) of Siloam, see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 74, 162, 179, 212, 220, 223; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 62–63, 68, 80–81, 133, 171.
- 57 Ibn al-Firkah, *Ba'ith al-nufus*, 23.
- 58 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 341–42; Shhab al-Din al-Maqdisi, *Muthir al-gharam*, 182; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 212.
- 59 Al-Wasiti, *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 21–22, no. 24; Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 346–47, 361; al-Husayni al-Shafi'i, *al-Rawd al-mugharras*, 59; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 213–14; see also Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 209–10. On the Church of Saint Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, see B. Bagatti, M. Piccirillo, and A. Prodomo, *New Discoveries at the Tomb of Virgin Mary in Gethsemane* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1975); Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, III, 287–306; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 138.
- 60 Al-Wasiti, *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 49, no. 73; Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 334; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Fada'il al-Quds*,

- 121; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 214, 238; Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 116–17, 168.
- 61 Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, III, 288. See also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 138.
- 62 *Qala Ka'b: La ta'iyi Kanisat Maryam wa la al-'amudayn ... ma banu [al-nasara] kanisa illa fi wadi jahannam*: al-Wasiti, *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 21–22, no. 24; Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 346–47, 361; al-Husayni al-Shafi'i, *al-Rawd al-mugharras*, 59; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 213–14. On this debate, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 138–41. Nasser Rabbat contextualizes the opposition by Ka'b al-Ahbar to visiting churches in Jerusalem within the history of the city during the periods of its conquest by 'Umar, the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, and the relations of the latter with Byzantium. Rabbat explains that Ka'b's exhortation against entering churches can be seen through the lens of Jewish-Christian relations after the conquest and during the early Umayyad period, and the competition between the two groups in the city after the beginning of Islamic rule. See Nasser Rabbat, "The Meaning of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock," *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 12–21, 16.
- 63 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 346–47; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 213–14, 239.
- 64 *Wa idha hum bi-al-Sahira*.
- 65 Ibn al-Firkah, *Ba'ith al-nufus*, 6, 25; al-Wasiti, *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* 48, no. 71; Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 322–24; and Shihab al-Din al-Maqdisi, *Muthir al-gharam*, 241–42.
- 66 On the connection between the Mount of Olives and al-Sahira, and medieval authors' different interpretations on the exact location of al-Sahira, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 141–44; Ragheb, "City as Liminal Space," 87–89.
- 67 *Wa la yadkhu al-kana'is wa la yashtari fiha bay'an fa-inna al-khati'a fiha mithl alf khati'a wa al-hasana mithl alf hasana*: al-Wasiti, *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 13, no. 13; Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 341. See also, for the later period, al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 212.
- 68 For example, there are traditions in the Fada'il al-Quds that state that in Jerusalem itself good deeds and sins are multiplied: al-Wasiti, *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 24, no. 31; Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, 295–97; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Fada'il al-Quds*, 91; Shihab al-Din al-Maqdisi, *Muthir al-gharam*, 205–7; al-Husayni al-Shafi'i, *al-Rawd al-mugharras*, 123–24; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 143–44; Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 230.
- 69 In Mecca, some Fada'il traditions also command that committing deeds in Islam's holiest city has multiplicative consequences, including committing good deeds, sins, prayers, etc.: see, for example, the *ahkam* precepts and rulings manual of Abu Bakr b. Zayd al-Jura'i al-Salihi al-Hanbali (d. 1478/883 AH), *Tuhfat al-raki' wa-al-sajid bi-ahkam al-masajid*, ed. Faysal Yusuf Ahmad al-'Ali, 3rd ed. (al-Shamiyya, Kuwait: Lata'if, 2012), 155–56, 212–13.
- 70 Mourad, "Symbolism of Jerusalem in Early Islam"; Mourad, "Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem's Religious Symbolism?"
- 71 Mourad, "Symbolism of Jerusalem in Early Islam," 98–98.
- 72 Mourad, "Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem's Religious Symbolism," 4.
- 73 Mourad, "Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem's Religious Symbolism," 4–6.
- 74 Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 33a–b; Frenkel, "Muslim Pilgrimage to Jerusalem," 72–76; Ragheb, "City as Liminal Space," 91–95.
- 75 Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 61a–b; Anabsi, "Popular Beliefs," 61; Frenkel, "Muslim Pilgrimage to Jerusalem," 70–72. On the increase in Muslim visitors from the Maghrib, see Yehoshua Frenkel, "Muslim Travellers to Bilad al-Sham (Syria and Palestine) from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries: Maghribi Travel Accounts," in *Travellers in Deserts of the Levant: Voyagers and Visionaries*, ed. Sarah Sebright and Malcolm Wagstaff (Durham, UK: Astene, 2001), 109–20.
- 76 Mourad, "Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem's Religious Symbolism," 6.
- 77 Mourad, "Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem's Religious Symbolism," 7.
- 78 Mourad, "Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem's Religious Symbolism," 7. On Ibn Taymiyya's treatise on *ziyara* to Jerusalem, see Charles D. Matthews, "A Muslim Iconoclast on the Merits of Jerusalem and Palestine," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56 (1936): 1–21.
- 79 *Wa yanbaghi idha kana fiha suwaran an*

- yuharram: al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 214.
- 80 Al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 214–15 (my emphasis).
- 81 Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn ‘Imad ibn Yusuf al-shahir bi-Ibn al-‘Imad al-Aqfahs, *Tashil al-maqasid li-zuwwar al-masajid*, ed. Ahmad Farid al-Mazidi (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1971), 32–33.
- 82 Al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 215 (my translation).
- 83 Al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 216 (*wa qadiyyat tahrim dukhul Kanisat Bayt Lahm fa-huwa lima fiha min al-suwar*).
- 84 Matthews, “Muslim Iconoclast.”
- 85 Matthews, “Muslim Iconoclast,” 7.
- 86 Matthews, “Muslim Iconoclast,” 13.
- 87 Al-‘Asali, *Makhtutat*, 6–9, 115ff. Al-‘Asali argues that by the sixteenth century (tenth century AH), which also coincided with the fall of Cyprus and the final end of the Crusader threat to the Muslim Near East, Fada’il al-Quds writings on Jerusalem reached the end of its peak and entered a phase of decline.
- 88 Al-‘Asali, *Makhtutat*, 115–21. Bahadur, *Mu’jam*, 164–208 (nos. 100–144) (note that Bahadur includes any text that relates to Jerusalem, and not just Fada’il al-Quds books, hence the more than forty books included in his catalogue under the early modern Ottoman centuries). According to al-‘Asali, one of the texts was composed in Ottoman Turkish. Some of these Ottoman-period Arabic texts include *al-Mustaqsa fi Fada’il al-Masjid al-Aqsa* by Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Khidr al-Maqdisi (d. 1545/952 AH) and *Lata’if uns al-jalil fi taha’if al-Quds wa-al-Khalil* by Mustafa As’ad al-Luqaymi (d. 1759/1173 AH). For editions of these two works, see Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Khidr al-Maqdisi, *al-Mustaqsa fi fada’il al-Masjid al-Aqsa*, ed. Mashhur al-Habbazi (Jerusalem: Bayt al-Shi’r al-Filastini, 2008); and Mustafa As’ad al-Luqaymi, *Lata’if uns al-jalil fi taha’if al-Quds wa-al-Khalil*, ed. Khalid ‘Abd al-Karim al-Hamshari (Acre: Mu’assasat al-Aswar, 2001).
- 89 Abdul-Karim Rafeq, “Ottoman Jerusalem in the Writings of Arab Travellers,” in *Ottoman Jerusalem, The Living City: 1517–1917*, ed. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), 63–64.
- 90 Rafeq, “Ottoman Jerusalem,” 63.
- 91 Rafeq, “Ottoman Jerusalem,” 63.
- 92 Ibn Khidr al-Maqdisi, *al-Mustaqsa fi fada’il al-masjid al-Aqsa*, 107–9.
- 93 Ibn Khidr al-Maqdisi, *al-Mustaqsa fi fada’il al-masjid al-Aqsa*, 109–10.
- 94 On the Church of St. Anne and its conversion to al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 142–56, especially 143.
- 95 Al-Luqaymi, *Lata’if uns al-jalil*, 166.
- 96 Al-Luqaymi, *Lata’if uns al-jalil*, 169–70.
- 97 Al-Luqaymi, *Lata’if uns al-jalil*, 170.
- 98 Al-Luqaymi, *Lata’if uns al-jalil*, 172.
- 99 See Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, III, 261–87, especially 262; Limor, “Sharing Sacred Space,” 223–27.
- 100 Al-Luqaymi, *Lata’if uns al-jalil*, 201.
- 101 Al-Luqaymi, *Lata’if uns al-jalil*, 201.
- 102 Mustafa As’ad al-Luqaymi, *Tahdhib mawanih al-uns bi-rihlati li-wadi al-Quds*, ed. Riyad ‘Abd al-Hamid Murad (Damascus: Wizarat al-Thaqafa, 2012).
- 103 Al-Luqaymi, *Tahdhib mawanih al-uns*, 168.
- 104 Al-Luqaymi, *Tahdhib mawanih al-uns*, 168–71.
- 105 Al-Luqaymi, *Tahdhib mawanih al-uns*, 117.
- 106 Al-Luqaymi, *Tahdhib mawanih al-uns*, 118–19.
- 107 ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi, *al-Hadra al-unsyiyya fi al-rihla al-qudsiyya*, ed. Akram Hasan al-‘Ulbi (Beirut: al-Masadir, 1990), 298–99.
- 108 *Wa huwa makan mashhur yaqsiduhu li’l-ziyara min al-Muslimin wa al-Nasara, wa hathihi al-kanisa min bina’ Hilana um Qistantin*: al-Nabulusi, *al-Hadra al-unsyiyya*, 195–96.
- 109 Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-Miknasi, *Ihraz al-mu’alla wa-al-raqib fi hajj Bayt Allah al-Haram wa-ziyarat al-Quds al-sharif wa-al-Khalil wa-al-tabarruk bi-qabr al-habib*, ed. Muhammad Bukabut (Beirut: al-Mu’assasa al-‘Arabiyya lil-Dirasat wa-al-Nashr, 2003); and on Miknasi’s travels, see Nabil Matar, “Introduction,” in *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World: The Travels of Muhammad ibn Uthman al-Miknasi* (Oxford: Routledge, 2015), 1–30.
- 110 Al-Miknasi, *Ihraz al-mu’alla*, 298–99, quote at 299.
- 111 Al-Miknasi, *Ihraz al-mu’alla*, 301.
- 112 See, for example, Shihab al-Din al-Maqdisi, *Muthir al-gharam*, 151–53; al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 129; Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 257.
- 113 Al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 129; Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 257.
- 114 Al-Suyuti, *Ithaf al-akhissa*, I, 129; Mujir al-

- Din al-‘Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, I, 257. On an alternative explanation to the pejorative term given to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see al-Harawi, *Kitab al-isharat*, 28.
- 115 Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali b. al-Husayn b. ‘Ali al-Mas‘udi, *Muruj al-dhahab wa ma‘adin al-jawhar*, ed. Muhammad Muhyi al-Din ‘Abd al-Hamid, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1972). The work was edited and translated during the nineteenth century by C. Barbier de Meynard: Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d’Or. Texte et Traduction*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols. (Paris: L’Imprimerie Impériale, 1864). Parts of al-Mas‘udi’s passages on Jerusalem were also translated by Le Strange into English from Barbier de Meynard’s edition: Guy Le Strange, “Notices on the Dome of the Rock and of the Church of the Sepulchre by Arab Historians Prior to the First Crusade,” *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement* (January 1887): 91, 100–101. On al-Mas‘udi, see Tarif Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography: The Histories of Mas‘udi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975).
- 116 Le Strange, “Notices,” 100 (my emphasis). For the part on Muslims attending the ceremony at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Arabic text is as follows: *wa tajtami‘ fihī min al-Muslimin khalq ‘azim li-l-nazar ila hatha al-‘id*. On the Miracle of Holy Fire during Easter in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see A. Jotischky, “Holy Fire and Holy Sepulchre. Ritual and Space in Jerusalem from the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries,” in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Frances Andrews (Donington, UK: Shaun Tyas, 2011), 44–60.
- 117 Le Strange, “Notices,” 100.
- 118 On al-Harawi, see Janine Sourdel-Thomine, “al-Harawi al-Mawsili,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. Peri Bearman, Thierry Bianquis, Clifford E. Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel, Wolfhart Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, 2023), online at dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2717 (accessed 2 October 2023).
- 119 Al-Harawi, *Kitab al-isharat*, 28. For translation into English, see: Josef W. Meri, *A Lonely Wayfarer’s Guide to Pilgrimage: ‘Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi’s Kitab al-isharat ila ma‘rifat al-ziyarat* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2004).
- 120 Al-Harawi, *Kitab al-isharat*, 28 (*wa amma nuzul al-nur fa-innani aqamtu bi-al-Quds zamanan ‘ala ‘ahd al-Firanj ila an ‘araftu kayfiyyat ‘amalihi*).
- 121 Al-Harawi, *Kitab al-isharat*, 91–92 (*kuntu dhara‘tu ... Madinat al-Quds wa-burj Dawud wa-Kanisat Qunama ... fa-lamma ghariqtu fi al-bahr ‘inda al-iqla‘ min Jazirat Isqiliyya wa gharaqat al-kutub wa-al-ladhi salima atlafahu alma’...*).
- 122 Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, vol. 1, 303.
- 123 Mujir al-Din al-‘Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-jalil*, vol. 1, 303.
- 124 Matthews, “Muslim Iconoclast.”
- 125 On al-Salahiyya minaret, see Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 517–18; on the minaret of Jami‘ ‘Umar, see Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 568–69. This Mosque of ‘Umar is actually the mosque previously built in 1193 (589 AH) by the Ayyubid al-Afdal ‘Ali (1169 or 1170–1225 [565–622 AH]), Salah al-Din’s son. The Ayyubid structure became known as Jami‘ ‘Umar only during the Ottoman period, attributing al-Afdal’s mosque to the second Rightly Guided Caliph ‘Umar: see Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 568b; Mahmoud Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem: An Architectural and Archaeological Study* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), I, 117–20, especially 119. However, this Ayyubid mosque should not be confused with the supposed rudimentary structure built by the caliph ‘Umar on the Haram during the mid-seventh century (first century AH). On the supposed Jami‘ ‘Umar on the Haram, see note 55 above.
- 126 Ragheb, “City as Liminal Space.”